3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

whom she belonged as a prisoner of war, and who had been requested by one of the officers of the ship to send a female on board. Captain Cook, also, strongly notices the reserve and modesty of the females of these islands; and the observations of this accurate narrator will serve to corroborate what we have been stating. We have already noticed the humane character of the Tonga females, and in addition we beg to observe, that their behaviour as daughters, wives, and mothers, is very far from being unworthy of imitation: children, consequently, are taken the utmost care of; they are never neglected either in respect of personal cleanliness or diet: as they grow older, the boys are made to exercise thamselves in athletic sports; the girls are made occasionally to attend to the acquirement of suitable arts and manufactures, and of a number of little ornamental accomplishments which tend to render them agreeable companions, and proper objects of esteem: they are taught to plait various pretty and fanciful devices in flowers, &c. which they present to their fathers, brothers, and superior chiefs, denoting respect for those who fill higher circles than themselves. There is still one observation to be made with respect to females, and which is not of small importance, since it tends to prove

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

592 The variation in the numerical composition of the 162 Pangai households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Number of households	3	3	2	4	9	5	1	6	5	4	1	1

Households with a numerical membership of four to ten persons account for seventy-seven per cent. of the total number of households.

ADOPTION

597 There are two types of adoption practised in Pangai. The first is a permanent adoption *(ohia)*. It involves a complete change of family and household. The child is bespoken generally before or immediately after birth. The adopting parents provide food for the pregnant mother and [553] for the infant during the nursing-period. They also name [862] the child, taking possession of it after weaning is completed. At this time the break is made with the blood-parents and the child is thereafter known as the child of the adopting parents. As it grows up it will learn kinship terms and [867] terms of respect for the relatives of its adopted parents, not [601] for those of its own blood-parents. It will also expect to [428] inherit property, status and rank, if any, from its adopted parents.

The other type of adoption is an impermanent feeding-relationship *(tauhi)*. Relatives ask for a child or parents ask relatives to take a child if the relatives are lonely or elderly or if the parents find that they have more mouths in the household than there is food to go round. The relatives feed and care for the child, but the child may return to its parents any time it is convenient or circumstances so change that this return is desirable. Very often grandparents take [603] charge of a grandchild in this way, leaving property to the [428] grandchild when they die.

The feeding-relationship is the more common of the two types of adoption. Of twenty-five cases of adoption known to informants among the village population of 268 persons, only two were of the permanent type, the remainder being of the feeding-type. It is obvious from this that complete

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

881 that it is *tapu* to work, to cook, or to wash clothes during the menstrual period. The mother also explains that the girl [867] must from now onward observe all the *tapu* associated with [593] the attitudes of respect *(fakaapaapa)* which the girl hence- [602] forward observes in regard to her brothers.[21]

881 Between the ages of ten and twelve the boy is super- 304 cised. If the operator should be a native medicine man the 178 occasion is marked with a small feast and a gift to the expert. 743 Today, however, it is general custom in the village to send the 759 boy to the hospital in Neiafu where a free operation is per- formed by the Tongan native practitioner. There is little feasting or gift-giving. It is still very necessary for a boy to be operated upon if he is not to suffer shame for the rest of his life as one abnormal and despised. But with the ease and simplicity of the hospital operation, there has been a sort of 128 shifting of responsibility for the whole matter onto the shoul- 881 ders of the white doctor. The operation has, therefore, be- 304 come a routine affair with no connected overtones of emotion 152 or anxiety on the part of the parents of the boy. With the 594 passing of anxiety there has also passed any felt necessity 431

881 [21] There is great change here as compared with ancient practice. 178 Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 186) notes that chiefly families still observe 304 old-time ceremonial connected with a girl's first menstruation. He adds: "These observances were formerly general." The note in the text concerning male supercision should also be compared with Gifford's account (*Tongan Society*, pp. 187-189) of boys' puberty-observances. Formerly the operation was technically a matter of supercision; today this is still the common practice. After this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell sent us the following note which amplifies the material given in the text. Dr. Lopdell writes: Vava'u practice is pretty general throughout Tonga. Child, or rather infant, superincision is practically unknown. Boys come to the hospital in Neiafu when between the ages of nine and twelve years; ten years is an average age. There are a few native medicine men who operate in the villages but I think that it is safe to say that the medical department does about ninety per cent. of the operations. Often a gang of boys, say ten to twenty boys of about the same age and from the same village, come to the hospital on the same day. The boys make a colourful cutter load of human freight if they come, dressed in their best clothes, from one of the distant villages far down Vava'u harbour. The operation is usually performed by one of the hospital boys. It consists of a simple scissors cut along the dorsal line of the prepuce. A local anaesthetic is given. On returning to the [594] village a small feast may be held but there is no fuss or bother made about the operation.

/68 cont./

592 181 Despite the dark side which Tongan marriage has for the strict Western observer, the family life of these natives may be regarded as happy, particularly since basic ideas are freer and the Tongans with their mentality take things easier than they appear to whites.

592 462 As in old times, (198)

198. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300.

the husband bears the chief burden of work (planting, fishing, house and boat building), while the wife cares for the house and the children, plaits mats and makes tapa. (199)

199. More details at "Division of Labor," p. 336 ff.

593 As ever, the wife enjoys special respect. In most houses a quiet, harmonious atmosphere predominates, both between the spouses as well as between parents and children. Often one sees fathers holding their children lovingly on their laps, and mothers take conscientious, often tender care of their children for granted. This family life (198) corresponds very much to that in old Tonga, according to the description given by Mariner. (200)

200. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 179.

593 861 Many parents do not beat their children, but are content with admonishing words. Some, however, give severe punishment with the Tonga broom (tau fale) /used/ as a switch (or with a stick, leather strap, etc.). /69/ Child obedience is moderate to good. In general, (869) however, children are handy, and when still of young age they perform tasks helping their parents and growing into the parents' roles.

593 784 (198) An ancient taboo forbade children to touch their father's head, to partake of his food and drink and to use articles belonging to him. This taboo is today largely relaxed, for children will, for example, often eat food remnants of their father or drink up what is left in his coconut cup. Many use their father's comb, and some even touch